

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME VI, NUMBER 31

WASHINGTON, D. C.

APRIL 19, 1937

Crime in America Takes Heavy Toll

United States Is Universally Considered Most Lawless Nation in Civilized World

MANY EXPLANATIONS GIVEN

Among These Are Lack of Public Interest, Corrupt Local Politics, and Great Economic Contrasts

Many problems which arise may seem to be of the utmost importance at the time, but may soon be shoved far into the background of public interest. Perhaps it is soon discovered that they are not nearly so significant as they at first seemed. Such is not the case with our crime problem. It looms large at all times. Our newspapers tell a daily story of murder, robbery, and racketeering—a story which is revolting to sensitive Americans.

It is an unpleasant but generally accepted fact that the United States is the most criminal and lawless country in the civilized world. In proportion to population, there are more murders, robberies, and other crimes committed each year in our land than in any other modern nation. Thirty-seven persons, on the average, are murdered every 24 hours. There are 3,500,000 known criminals within our borders. One authority has estimated that three out of every four American people now living, unless they die young, will be "personally victimized by crime" at some time or other. The American homicide rate is 20 times that of the British, more than twice that of Greece, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France, Norway, Sweden, Spain, and the Netherlands. The people of the United States pay an annual toll amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars to racketeers and other lawbreakers.

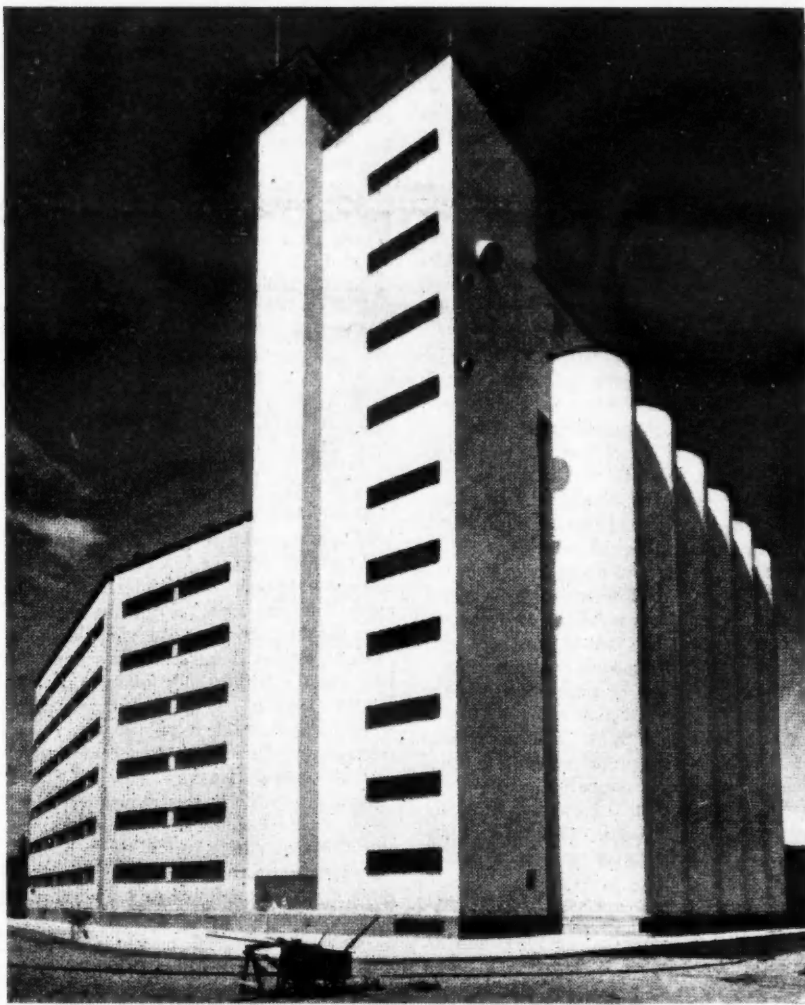
Waves of Indignation

Occasionally a dramatic incident arises which causes a wave of public indignation and a demand for renewed efforts to stamp out crime in this country. Every now and then an individual community launches a campaign to clean up the underworld. These campaigns are sometimes successful, but then after a short time public interest is likely to lag, and conditions become as bad as they were before. The people once more slump back into their state of apathy.

Of course, until the people in every community can bestir themselves and take an active part in striking at the roots of this vital problem, crime will continue to flourish. And even if the public should become sufficiently aroused, that would be just a starting point. There is no easy road to a solution of crime. There is no single line of attack. The causes of our bad record are many. It is important that we analyze some of these before considering possible remedies.

It is well to begin with our local governments, since they have the chief responsibility for enforcing the law. It is an unfortunate fact that a great many of our communities and counties are badly governed. These places are run by politicians who are more interested in keeping their offices than in providing good government. The officials in many cases are inefficient. These weak and selfish officials very often make deals with criminals. If gangsters and gamblers and racketeers pay money to the officials or to the party campaign funds, they

(Concluded on page 8)



COOPERATIVE FINLAND
Cooperative flour mill and silo for sifted grain at Viipuri.

What of the Chances?

What chance does a young man or woman have of obtaining a position upon graduation from high school or college? That question is being asked this spring by thousands of anxious students. Fortunately a more encouraging answer can be given today than would have been possible at any time for several years. The demand for skilled workers, and for young workers who show promise of skill, is growing rapidly in many fields. An administrator of a large high school in a Chicago suburb told the editor of this paper recently that in his system every boy with a good school record can now be sure of stepping into a job upon graduation. There are, in fact, calls which cannot be filled. Students with poor grades have more difficulty in finding places, he says, but the number of unemployed is dwindling. All communities are not so fortunate, but a story similar to that coming from Chicago is frequently heard.

Why is it, one may ask, that students with high grades find it so much easier to get jobs? It may be argued that the courses taken in school and college do not prepare students specifically for positions, at least not for most of the positions which are open. A student may have done badly in these courses, and yet he may turn out to be an excellent worker. It is, of course, true that such a thing may happen. Employers figure, however, that there is usually a reason why a student has made good grades. For one thing, it is likely that he is bright and alert. Not only that, but he has acquired the habit of doing well the thing he is called upon to do. He is more likely to do his occupational work well than is the student who, while in school, acquired the habit of doing slipshod work. In other words, employers figure that the qualities which bring a boy or a girl to the top in school are likely to bring him to the top when he goes into an occupation. It is a fact, therefore, that good students have a distinct advantage when they go out to look for jobs. This should not too greatly discourage the student whose grades are not very satisfactory, however. He will have a harder time getting placed, but a chance will come eventually, and if he faces about and performs his tasks excellently, he may expect advancement.

Despite the fact that opportunities are increasing, it remains true that most vocations are overcrowded and will be for some time. That is an economic reality which we would be foolish not to face. Many worthy persons are without jobs, and they should have public support until they are placed. Furthermore, we should all work to improve economic conditions so that there will be greater security in the land. That is a civic responsibility we cannot honorably dodge. Meanwhile, students who are improving their mental training may find satisfaction in the thought that it is true today as it has been in the past, that there is room at the top. There is room for the young person of good character, alert mind, and efficient habits. Splendid opportunities abound for those who are able to seize them and put them to use.

Cooperatives Make World-Wide Strides

Movement Steadily Gains Ground Both in European Countries and in United States

NEARLY 140,000,000 MEMBERS

Half-a-Billion-Dollar Business Done in U. S. Last Year but Mostly by Farm Organizations

When as many as 139,000,000 people throughout the world subscribe to a movement, that movement is important. When 2,000,000 of those people are American citizens, the movement in question becomes a matter of more than casual interest to the United States.

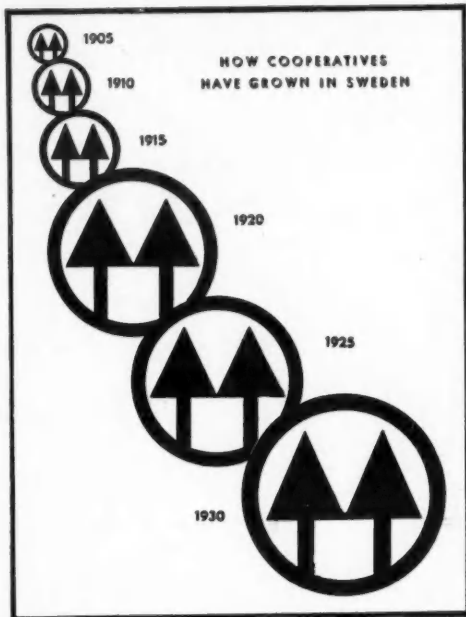
It is the cooperative movement to which we are referring. In nearly every country, groups of individuals have banded together into 465,000 separate societies, not for the object of pursuing some political ambition, but for the simple, undramatic purpose of securing the goods they need for their daily existence at a lower price than would otherwise be possible, or, conversely, of disposing of the goods they produce at a better advantage than they otherwise could. It is a movement which is concerned with the price of bread, meat, clothing, and other products of common necessity. It has no international or even national complications. It is nothing more than an idea which individual people, acting together in their own communities, are putting into practice.

The Beginnings

It is an idea which is nearly 100 years old. It has long flourished in such countries as Sweden, Great Britain, Denmark, and Finland, but only recently has it achieved any importance in the United States. Its earliest beginnings are well described in a pamphlet called "Coöperatives," recently published by the Foreign Policy Association of New York:

"It all started back in the 1800's during the years called 'the hungry forties.' There were about 1,500 people living in the little English village of Rochdale. Most of them—men, women, and children—worked in the woolen and cotton mills. They had to work long hours, from six in the morning until eight at night, and for very small wages—a penny or two an hour or about 45 cents a week. They were miserably poor and could not afford to buy the things they needed. Finally, there was a strike, and the workers demanded higher wages. But the owners insisted that they could not afford to pay more. The workers lost and the strike leaders were discharged. A few of the people who had a little money saved up sailed to America, but the rest could not escape from their wretched homes.

"At last some of them got together to decide what could be done. Some wanted to send a petition to the king. Others suggested a political demonstration. A few had heard about the ideas of two men named Robert Owen and Dr. William King, who had been trying to help workers like themselves. These men saw that the people who worked at the machines could not afford to buy the things which the machines made. Therefore they said, 'Let the workers own the machines.' But how were these poor, hungry people to become owners of the machines? It seemed a foolish dream, but a few brave souls—27 men and one woman—started



to save their pennies. They called themselves 'The Equitable Society of Rochdale Pioneers.'

"At the end of one year they had saved \$140. They could not buy a factory with that, but they could open a grocery store and run it themselves. In this way they could save for themselves the profits made by the private grocer and their pennies would go further. They rented a basement room in an old warehouse on a dingy street called Toad Lane. On the shelves they placed a small stock of goods—butter, sugar, meal, and candles. And on the night of December 21, 1844, the first cooperative store opened its doors!

"Rowdy boys and skeptical townspeople stood outside that first night and made fun of the new store. But at the end of the first year the Pioneers had done \$3,500 worth of business, their membership had grown to 74, and their capital to \$900. Just seven years after they started to save their pennies, the Pioneers bought their first factory—a flour mill. Two years later they owned a shoe factory, and by 1855 their own cotton and woolen mill."

Cooperative Method

Following the leadership of the Rochdale pioneers, consumers in other parts of England, and in other countries, organized cooperative societies of their own, until today the movement has spread all over the world. The procedure in most cases has begun with the formation of a buying club by a small number of enterprising individuals. They combine to pool their purchases, obtaining the goods they need at lower prices by eliminating the profits of the middlemen. Then, they accumulate their savings and eventually set up a store, which they organize as a regular business and in which they each purchase stock, just as they might in any corporation. But there is an important difference. Each person is entitled to only one vote in the direction of the commonly owned business, no matter how much stock he might own. Thus, the venture remains thoroughly democratic, and it is impossible for control to slip into the hands of a minority.

The store sells goods to the members of the society, and to anyone else who may wish to buy, charging regular prices for everything and, in nearly all cases, requiring payment in cash. Then, at the end of stated terms, the earnings are reckoned and any excess over expenses (profit) is either turned back to the society's members (on the basis of their volume of purchases, and not of stock owned) or is set aside by the members for future expansion, or for educational activity.

By building up such funds, cooperative societies have been able to register a steady growth. Consumers have set up stores, and after a time of saving, have gone on to the establishment of wholesale houses, and in some cases of factories to produce certain goods to be sold in the stores owned by consumers. The Swedish people have been notably successful in this respect. When Swedish consumers reached the conclusion

that the large corporations were charging too much for electric light lamps, margarine, or galoshes, they pooled their earnings and started their own factories. It was not long before the price of these commodities dropped.

So far we have described cooperative societies established by consumers. Also numerous are the societies which have been organized by producers, or, in practically all cases, by farmers. These societies operate on the same basic principle as the consumer organizations. The farmers simply band together to sell their products, secure better prices, and establish better standards, by eliminating the profit of the middleman.

The farmers of Denmark are particularly well organized. As one of the charts on this page shows, a large percentage of Denmark's agricultural produce—from 25 per cent of the poultry products to 85 per cent of the dairy products—are handled by cooperatives. The Danish farmers belong to all sorts of societies which perform numerous services for them. Thus, in addition to the widespread dairy cooperatives, there are cooperative bacon factories where hogs are slaughtered and the pork cured; there are egg collecting societies, which grade and market eggs; cattle exporting societies; credit societies to make loans to farmers; and many other cooperative endeavors. And, to complete the circle, many Danish farmers belong also to consumers' cooperatives and so are thoroughly saturated with the cooperative principle.

All this, it must be remembered, is the result of individual action taken by people in their own communities. The government of Denmark, as in other cooperative countries, of course, is sympathetic to the cooperative movement. However, it is not government but people who are responsible for the cooperative movement.

Co-ops in U. S.

In the United States, cooperatives did a business of \$425,000,000 in 1935, and an estimated business of \$500,000,000 in 1936. The movement had its real beginnings in this country in the early part of this century, but it was confined to a few Finns who, having been used to cooperative methods in their homeland, naturally adopted them over here.

It was not until after the war that the cooperative idea really began to make an impression in the United States. Then, the farmers, who were receiving disastrously low prices for their products, and who were despairing of effective governmental action to save them, began to resort to cooperative methods to market their products. They found that they could do better by entrusting the sale of their produce to organizations under their own control. Not long after this, the farmers began to think of buying cooperatively. Large farm purchasing societies were established in a number of states, and through them many farmers

began to secure their oil, fertilizer, seed, fencing, and new-hatched chicks at better prices. Cooperative buying was mainly limited to articles for use on the farm, and not for family use.

Farmers today still dominate the cooperative movement. Of the \$425,000,000 business done by cooperatives in 1935, \$309,000,000 was done by farm purchasing organizations. However, since the depression especially, consumer cooperative societies in towns and cities have been increasing in a way which followers of the cooperative movement find greatly encouraging. During the worst days of depression, white-collar workers, finding their incomes reduced, began to form buying clubs for the purpose of making their dollars go farther. Many of these clubs developed into stores, gasoline filling stations, credit unions, bakeries, and other establishments. Altogether, some 6,500 retail cooperative organizations have been organized. On top of these are 23 large wholesale associations, which supply goods to retail cooperatives. A steady growth is being registered each year.

Here to Stay

The cooperative movement is doubtless here to stay, and it will be heard from more and more all the time. Last year, President Roosevelt became much interested in the movement, and sent a commission to Europe for the purpose of studying the movement in various countries. The commission has returned with a body of facts describing the extent of cooperation abroad, which will soon be available in published form as a government document. It recommends a study of cooperatives in the United States.

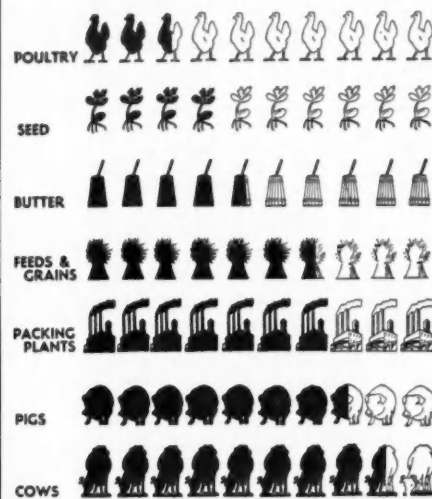
How important is this movement which seems to be gaining headway so impressively? What effects is it likely to have on business and on the people generally in the future? These questions find a number of varying answers.

The most enthusiastic members of the cooperative movement believe they have found the key to a new economic system which charts a democratic course between fascism and communism. They point out that thoroughgoing cooperation results in "production-for-use," since profit is eliminated, and man as producer is enabled to join hands with man as consumer without intervening forces to drain away earnings. They look forward to the time when the cooperative movement will engulf the system of capitalism, gradually absorbing regular business enterprises into cooperative endeavors. This, they admit, is a long way off, but they think it possible.

Others look upon the cooperative movement as a distinct threat which must be combated. This feeling exists especially among businessmen who fear that the cooperatives, through the advantages they are able to offer, will seriously cripple their businesses. They are firmly convinced that

COOPERATIVE SHARE OF DENMARK'S AGRICULTURE

BLACK FIGURES—HANDLED BY CO-OPS
EACH FIGURE 10% OF TOTAL BUSINESS



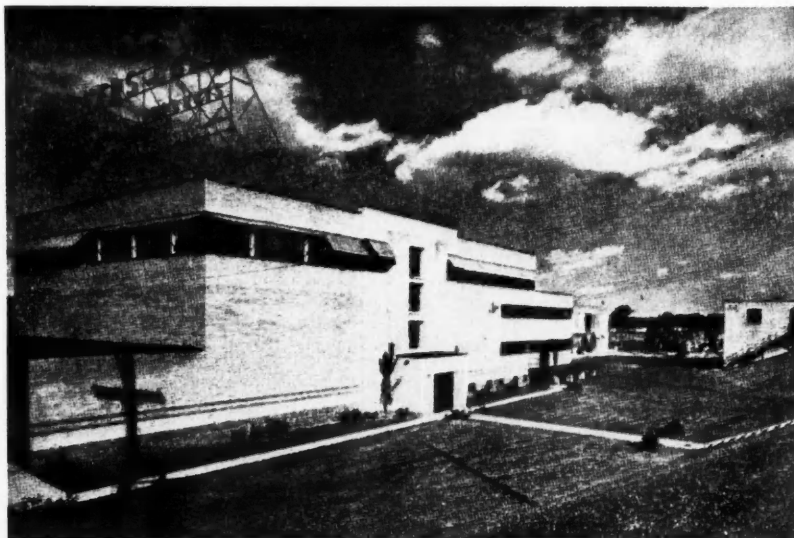
a system which offers great material rewards to the individual with initiative is the one which in the long run has proved the most successful, and they see no reason why its basic theory need be abandoned. Thus they are not anxious to see cooperatives encouraged and, above all, they do not want the government to take an active part in promoting the cooperative movement.

Another View

Between these two extremes there is a large group which thinks that the cooperative movement is neither a panacea for our ills, nor a menace to our society. They argue that it is not a cure-all, for it has not kept serious problems away from the doors of those nations which have embraced it many years ago. Thus, in Great Britain, half the entire population buys in cooperative stores. The nation's fourth largest bank is a cooperative, and the British Cooperative Wholesale is the largest business enterprise in Great Britain. Yet, Britain is far from being looked upon as a model of economic balance. This is not so true of the Scandinavian countries which have more successfully handled their problems, but even they are not to be classed as modern utopias.

And, it is further argued, the cooperative movement has not grown so rapidly as to dominate any of the nations in which it is established. In Sweden, regarded as an outstanding example of cooperation, only 10 per cent of the retail trade is done through cooperatives. In Denmark the figure is only 15 per cent, in Finland it is 25 per cent, and in England 15 per cent. These figures, it is true, are somewhat misleading, for the cooperative movement has most of its members among the lower-paid elements of the population, and thus while the percentage figures may be comparatively low, the actual number of members may be high. This fact is borne out in the case of England.

Still, the cooperative movement has not grown enough in nearly 100 years to threaten the destruction of private business. In England, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, business and cooperatives exist side by side, and there is no reason, many think, why the same situation should not prevail in the United States. Perhaps, in the future, the cooperative movement will usher in a new form of society, but that day is as yet far from being in sight.



—Courtesy Cooperative League

COOPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

A cooperative oil plant owned by 100,000 members in four western states. (Two charts at top of this page from "Cooperation," courtesy Foreign Policy Association.)

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and the last two weeks in August) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
FRED J. KELLY DAVID S. MUZZEY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

Associate Editors
GROVER CLARK PAUL D. MILLER

AROUND THE WORLD

England: Diplomatic circles in London have been buzzing with whisperings of an impending economic conference in which all the important world powers will participate. It happens that high officials of many governments, including the United States, are now gathered in London for the international sugar conference, and they are taking advantage of the meeting to sound out one another on the advisability of a general economic conference. The belief is widely held that only by relieving the economic pressure that now weighs upon certain countries can a general war be averted. By reducing tariff barriers, these statesmen maintain, those powers in need of raw materials, particularly Germany and Japan, will be under no compulsion to go to war to obtain them. A further consequence of the free movement of trade will be a reduction in the armaments of each country.

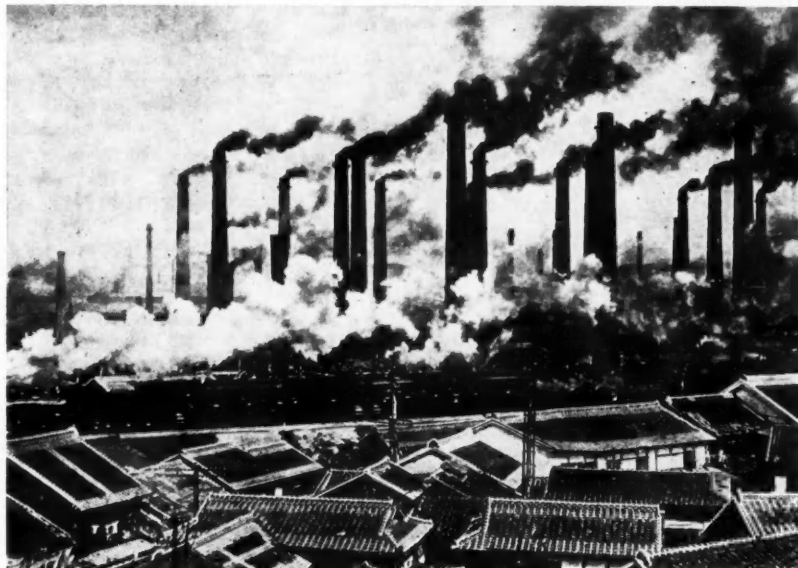
The United States, it is reported, is taking a particularly favorable attitude toward such a conference. But it is recognized that there are certain obstacles first to be removed. After the coronation of King George in May, Great Britain is to hold an imperial conference of her own, in which the members of the British commonwealth work out their own trade relations. It is a question how far Britain will be willing to go in yielding her imperial interests. It is also a question whether Russia and Germany will agree to a conference. To arrange trade pacts, the United States may be obliged to participate in European affairs, a proposition which is extremely doubtful.

Spain: The attention which in the last month concentrated upon the continued successes of the Madrid government has



© Wide World
ADOLF ON A POSTAGE STAMP
With his famous moustache and hair comb, the German dictator graces a special stamp issue, placed on sale in connection with his birthday on April 20.

now turned to a series of quick developments in the international aspect of the Spanish civil war. As the rebel legions suffered one defeat after another, reports persisted that Italy, in violation of the nonintervention agreement, had landed more volunteers in Spain. At the same time that these reports gained currency, the controlled Italian press blared forth with accusations that France and Russia were themselves violating the nonintervention agreement. To support these charges, editorials in Italy gave a detailed and precise listing of the men and the ammunitions which had been sent to the loyalists. And they added a warning that unless this support ceased, Italy would withdraw from the nonintervention agreement. The government in France took the view that Rome was



INDUSTRIAL JAPAN
At the Washington textile conference, Japan, Britain and other nations conflicted over the matter of establishing an internationally standardized working week for the textile industry. (See page 5.)

taking an offensive attitude and growing indignant the more easily to justify further aid to the rebels. As we go to press, these charges and countercharges continue, with some definite move to be taken, perhaps, by Italy and Germany when General Goering late this month goes to Rome to confer with Italian authorities on the entire Spanish situation.

Meanwhile, Britain has been dragged into the midst of the war by the rebel blockade of the Spanish coast. Four British freighters, conveying food to Spain, were halted by rebel warships, and rebel planes dared again to attack a British warship. British statesmen took alarm at these rebel acts and dispatched the great battleship, *Hood*, to the scene of trouble, although there was doubt that any real action would be taken.

Libya: Partly as a reward to the Moslems for their support of his Ethiopian campaign and partly with the apparent purpose of cultivating the loyalty of the natives in every part of the Italian empire, Premier Mussolini has decided to launch an era of partial self-rule in Libya. This Italian colony in Africa, whose inhabitants number half a million, is to be divided into four provinces, and natives will be permitted a voice in the administration of local town governments. Together with these political concessions, the Italian dictator will take measures to improve the economic status of the people. The confiscated property of rebel chieftains will be divided among them, and those who have been imprisoned will obtain an amnesty. The Italian government, moreover, will assist the natives to develop farms and build their own homes and in other ways to improve their living standards.

Creditable as these aims may be, observers, nevertheless, profess to see in them more than appears on the surface. For one thing, in addition to this purely civilian program, Mussolini plans to train an enlarged native army, in excess of police needs. A big naval base, costing more than \$4,000,000, is to be built at Assab, in Italian Eritrea. This port is at the southernmost point of the Red Sea and looks across a narrow strait to the British colony of Aden. An enlarged native army will give obvious strength to Rome in northern Africa, while the fortifications on the Red Sea will mean that it will be in a position to threaten British passage to India and Australia. Nor is it likely that Mussolini will fail to make full use of the fact that he has granted the native populations a degree of self-government. On his recent trip

through Libya, he pointedly referred to the trouble Moslems were having under the rule of England and France. His reference had no meaning, if it were not an invitation to the Moslems to turn against these other powers and align themselves with the Italians.

Belgium: Fear that the tide of dictatorship would surge over the remaining democracies of western Europe was to an impressive degree dispelled last week when in a political battle of strength, in Belgium, the democratic forces administered a crushing blow to fascism. During the last five years, the Rexists, the Belgian fascist party, have been carrying on a campaign against democratic government. Under the leadership of Leon Degrelle, they succeeded last May in capturing 21 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Believing that his political strength warranted his taking over the government, Degrelle had one of his followers resign his seat in the Chamber of Deputies and announced himself as a candidate for the post.

Premier Paul van Zeeland (see page 7), who occupied no seat in the legislature, decided to oppose Degrelle in the election. The premier felt that the time had arrived to test his own popularity and that of his government against the vaunted strength of the Rexists. But no one had expected such a complete rout of Degrelle; he did not succeed in getting even a quarter of the votes.

In political circles in Brussels, the opinion is widely current that this defeat will mean the end of the fascist movement in Belgium. Of equal importance are the inferences, broader in scope, drawn in other European capitals. First, it insures the solidarity of Belgium with France and England. Had Premier van Zeeland's government yielded to a fascist cabinet, there can be little doubt that Belgium's foreign policy would have been dictated from Berlin. Second, it means that the democratic powers will now be able to go ahead with their plans for an economic conference, in the preparations for which van Zeeland has been playing a major part.

In order to break the deadlock resulting from the refusal of the Congress party to participate in the newly elected governments of the India provinces, Mohandas K. Gandhi, the famed Indian

leader, has suggested that an arbitration board decide whether the British governors, under the new Indian constitution, have the right to veto legislation of the provincial parliaments. It is this veto power which the Congress party has objected to and which has led to its refusal to join the provincial cabinets.

SMILES

Twenty years, remarks an oratorical congressman, have taught us that war doesn't pay. More than that! They have also taught us that the governments we sided in with don't, either.
—*Boston Herald*

Amos Tash: Hey! Your shoes are mixed. You've got the left shoe on the right foot.
Jerry Coe: And here for twenty years I thought I was club-footed!
—*Chelsea Record*

If the natives of the dust bowl want some kind of a crop that will defy all powers of light and darkness and the inventions of man to uproot it, we recommend the dandelion.
—*Ohio State Journal*

"A German has invented a sound amplifier with which an ordinary speaking voice can be heard 25 miles." Just the thing for calling Junior home from the neighbors.
—*Washington Post*

Something new for men is a coat of California design with no collar or lapels! Politicians and arresting officers will resent it deeply.
—*Atlanta Constitution*

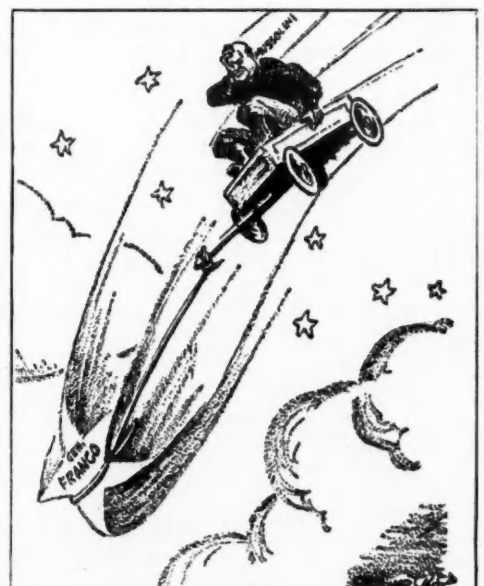
In that movie "The Lost Horizon," a film note explains, some of the characters live on and on and never change. The comic strips, of course, have already familiarized us with the type.
—*Boston Herald*

Senator Norris thinks the time has come when farmers should have a place in the sun. If we were farming, we'd want a place in the shade.
—*Milwaukee Sentinel*

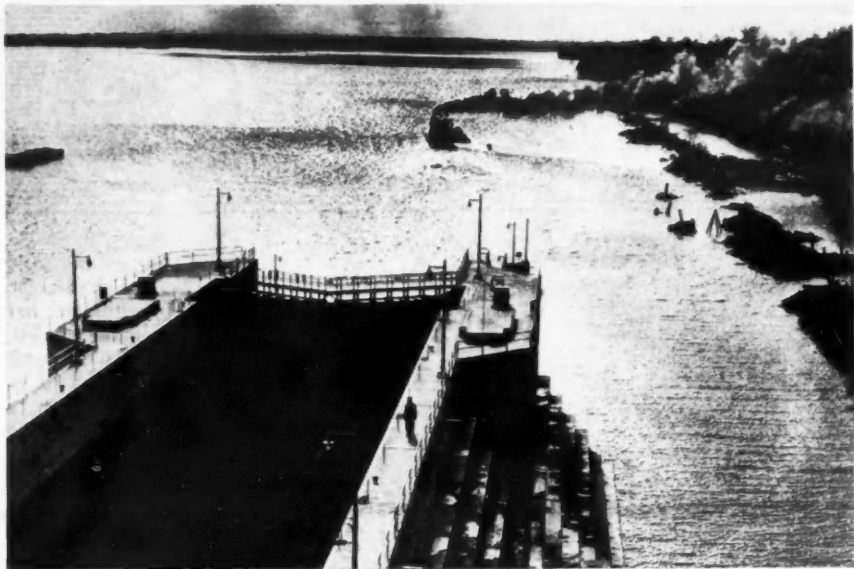
Of all animals, the giraffe has no voice. Further evidence that Nature knows her stuff. The giraffe never has to yell, "Down in front!"
—*Yakima (Wash.) Republic*

Much may be said in favor of travel by air, but it still is almost as dangerous as riding in an automobile.—*Yakima (Wash.) Republic*

A golfer was driving off about a foot in front of the teeing mark. The club secretary happened to come along.
"Here!" he cried indignantly. "You can't do that! You're disqualified."
"What for?" demanded the player.
"You're driving off in front of the mark."
The player looked at him with pity. "Away with you!" he said tersely. "I'm playing my third stroke!"
—*Montreal Star*



HITCHED TO A STAR
—Page in Louisville Courier-Journal



SHADOWS ON THE TENNESSEE RIVER

A section of the navigation lock at Wheeler Dam, through which a boat has just been routed into Wilson Lake. Wheeler Dam is the second major structure built by the Tennessee Valley Authority to be completed. It is located 15½ miles above Muscle Shoals.

© Wide World

Historic Decisions

The Supreme Court clearly made history on April 12 when, in deciding five cases which had been brought before it, it declared that the Wagner Labor Relations Act was constitutional on every contested point. This sweeping ruling in favor of one of the most important enactments of the New Deal, came as a surprise, since it involved the practical reversal of a viewpoint which a majority of the Court had expressed less than a year ago. The shift was due, as in the case of the Washington Minimum Wage decision, to the changed attitude of Justice Roberts, who joined with Chief Justice Hughes, and with Justices Brandeis, Stone, and Cardozo, in forming a majority on four 5-4 decisions. The fifth case was concurred in unanimously.

The plain implication of these decisions is that a company which is organized on a national basis, or buys and sells across state boundaries, comes under federal authority as being engaged in interstate commerce even though its manufacturing plant or its operating center may be entirely within a single state. It is believed that this new interpretation of the Constitution will open up a field of activity to the federal government, in the regulation of wages, hours, and working conditions, which had been closed by the NRA and Guffey Coal decisions. The Court's view is a modification, if not a reversal, of important features of its position in those decisions.

So far as the Wagner Labor Act is concerned, it is now an established legal right for employees to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing. It becomes unlawful for employers to resort to any action which will in any way interfere with this right. The government is empowered, under certain conditions, to contribute to the settlement of labor disputes. Thus, it is a victory for labor.



© Harris & Ewing

A PROUD MAN
Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, beamed on reporters and photographers, as he moved into the splendid, new Interior building in Washington.

Immediately after the decisions were handed down, there was an outburst of speculation as to the effects they would have on President Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the Supreme Court. Now that the Court has taken a more liberal viewpoint in interpreting the Constitution, will President Roosevelt insist on pressing his proposal? Will that proposal be adopted if he does insist upon it? Is it arguable that there is no longer need for reorganization of the Court, in view of its new attitude, or is there need for reorganization despite the rulings? These are some of the questions which are being asked, as the constitutional debate takes a new turn.

Jobs and Unemployment

While Senator Robinson and others have been saying that expenditures for relief must be reduced to avoid the necessity for new taxes, President Green of the A. F. of L. made the statement on April 11 that the government definitely must plan to provide jobs for at least 3,000,000 of the unemployed during the 1937-38 fiscal year. He estimated that there now are 9,722,000 unemployed, and said the total could not be reduced below 7,500,000 even if the rapid gains in employment in the last year continue. Even if a works program does provide for 3,000,000, there still will be 4,500,000 without regular income, he insisted. But "by planning now for a program to provide 3,000,000 jobs . . . we can care for those unemployed who are in serious need." Mr. Green holds that the federal program must be planned to give work on useful projects rather than on a relief-roll basis in order to avoid making permanent paupers out of millions of self-respecting Americans.

Because of the wide differences between the various estimates of the number of unemployed—running all the way from less than 5,000,000 to Mr. Green's 9,722,000—the proposal for a real census of unemployment again is being put forward. Both Republicans in Congress who oppose large-scale spending and liberals who think the government should do more have been insisting that the government should find out how many unemployed there are so that it can plan its spending for relief jobs intelligently.

Auto Strikes

The signing of an agreement between John L. Lewis and Walter P. Chrysler on April 6 brought to an end the 30-day strike which had closed the plants of the Chrysler Corporation. This, along with recent settlements of union-recognition disputes in the factories of Reo and Hudson, means that the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers' union now has working agreements with all the automobile manufacturers except Ford and Pierce-Arrow.

The agreement with Chrysler does not grant to the union "sole" bargaining power, which it had originally demanded, but it guarantees that the company will do nothing to encourage or finance any other labor organization among its employees. Officials of the union claim that this gives them essentially what they had

The Week in t

What the American People

asked for. As its part of the bargain, the union promises that its members will not be allowed to cause or engage in any sort of strike in any of the Chrysler plants during the period of the agreement, which runs until the end of March 1938.

In reply to the statement of union leaders that their next objective will be an agreement with the Ford Motor Company, Mr. Henry Ford has declared that he will never recognize any labor organization and urged his employees to have nothing to do with the unions. Union officials meanwhile are going ahead with their membership drive among Ford workers, but have promised that no strike action will be taken until there is a much larger enrollment than at present. For the time being at least, for the first time in five months, there is labor peace in the automobile industry.

A C. I. O. strike started in the General Motors plant in Oshawa, Ontario, on April 8, however. Premier Hepburn of Ontario promptly announced that he would not permit sit-down strikes, and called out a large body of police and Canadian "Mounties" to preserve order. The Toronto and Districts Trades and Labor Council promised to support the strikers.

Congress and Sit-downs

Afraid that workers might misunderstand their rejection of an amendment to the Guffey coal bill which condemned sit-down strikes, the members of the Senate, on April 7, by a vote of 75-3, adopted a resolution on the subject. In this they declared that sit-down strikes are "illegal and contrary to public policy." But the same resolution gave three times as much space to condemning some of the things employers do, such as using labor spies, fostering company unions, denying collective bargaining, and engaging in



© Acme

LABOR VS. LABOR
As A. F. of L. and C. I. O. adherents battled each other in the streets of Cleveland recently.

"unfair practice as defined in the National Labor Relations Act."

The next day, the House, by a loudly voiced roar of "No's" defeated the resolution which Congressman Dies had introduced calling for a congressional investigation of sit-down strikes. In the same way, the members also voted against continuing the three-year-old investigation of "un-American activities." The House thus carefully kept itself clear of questions that are packed with political dynamite. But the Senate's resolution on sit-downs and employer practices goes to the House for its approval or rejection.

High School Development

The proportion of Americans of high school age who are in public high schools has increased very remarkably in the past three decades, according to a recent report on "High School Statistics" issued by the United States Office of Education. Until 1906, less than 10 per cent of the Americans aged 14, 15, 16, and 17 were in high school. By 1916, the proportion was 20 per cent; in 1921 it was 30 per cent; in 1930, 47 per cent. In 1934, it

had increased to 59.5 per cent, while the total in school was about 65 per cent, if those in night schools, continuation schools, private schools, and other special schools were included.

The total public high school attendance increased between 1930 and 1934 from a little over 5,200,000 to just under 6,900,000. The increase in the number in the last four years



PRELIMINARY SIGNALS

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

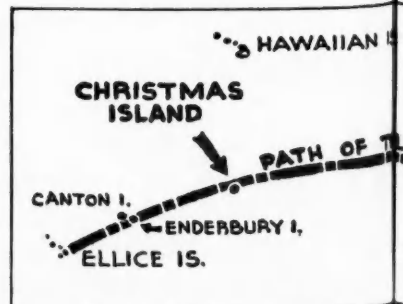
in high schools was proportionately much larger than in the lower years.

A larger proportion of the students who enter high school now stay through to graduate than in earlier years. Out of every 1,000 who entered in 1931, 491 graduated in 1934, compared with a corresponding figure of 388 in 1914. In 1934, however, only a little over 25 per cent of the graduates did further study, while 46.2 per cent of the graduating classes in 1921 continued in school, 45.7 per cent in 1925, and 44.4 per cent in 1929. The proportion doing further studying was definitely higher among graduates of the rural than of the urban high schools.

The reorganization of the high schools to fit the new junior-senior system is progressing steadily. In 1934, however, 71.4 per cent of the schools still were of the older four-year type, though only 51.2 per cent of the pupils were in these unreorganized schools.

Children's Bureau

Tens of thousands of people are alive and well today because, 25 years ago, the Child Welfare Bureau was established as a means by which the federal government could help parents and communities to take better care of their children. On April 8, this year, 60 friends of the bureau gathered in the Mayflower Hotel in Washington to pay tribute to the great work which has been done by the chiefs of the Children's Bureau—Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott, and Katherine Lennox. Secretary of Labor Perkins, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Senator Borah (who sponsored the original bill creating the bureau) were among those who spoke of the importance of the pioneering work which the bureau had done in spreading information on child care, advising in individual cases, and gathering statistical data on child problems.



THE PATH OF THIS SUMMER

te United States

e e Doing, Saying, and Thinking

The bureau is not intended to enforce any particular laws or regulations. Its function was and still is to cooperate with parents, with social service workers, with officials in charge of public welfare work, and with the children themselves in improving the health and living and working conditions of children. One of the principal means of education on child care has been the distribution of pam-

The British and the Japanese agreed that Japan could not cut the textile working hours to 40 at once. The Chinese and Indian representatives held that their countries could not go on a 40-hour week basis. The American employer delegate said that in the United States also it would be difficult to go on a shorter textile week basis, but he urged that the efforts to agree to the 40-hour-week limitation be continued.

Sound Driving Practices

Do you know what your automobile will do—and why? Do you really know how to keep it completely under control under all conditions? Are you watchful all the time while driving, and do you show the same respect for pedestrians and other drivers that you want for yourself? If you cannot answer these questions with a clear "Yes," and if you take foolish chances, then you are not a sound driver, judged by the standards set in the American Automobile Association's new pamphlet in its valuable series on automobile driving. This pamphlet is entitled "Sound Driving Practices." These are, it says, "those that are technically correct and at the same time consistent with fairness, courtesy, and safety to all users of the highway." The pamphlet deals with the natural laws which come into play in driving, the reasons for doing and not doing various things while driving, and other pertinent points. It is simply written, effectively illustrated, and full of suggestions of value even to the experienced driver. Copies may be secured through AAA motor clubs in the various cities.

Transatlantic Service

Three competing airlines will be operating regular schedules across the Atlantic this summer, if present plans are carried out. One



FROM A DESIGN FOR THE JACKET OF "BEAT TO QUARTERS," BY C. S. FORESTER

line will be operated by the British Imperial Airways and the American Pan-American airline interests in cooperation, another by the Germans, and a third by a new company which is to be formed by Glenn L. Martin of Baltimore. Imperial Airways and Pan-American have just straightened out difficulties over the terminal to be used, with an agreement that some of the ships will fly via Montreal, while others will fly to and from New York.

Long Eclipse

Elaborate plans are being made to study conditions during an eclipse when the especially favorable opportunity comes on June 8 with the longest eclipse of the sun in the past 1,200 years. The eclipse will not be visible in the United States, but it will cut a narrow path across the Pacific Ocean, and two ships of the American navy have been ordered to do "eclipse duty." One will carry scientific equipment to Honolulu. The other will take the party of scientists and their equipment from Honolulu to the Phoenix Islands, tiny dots in the Pacific from which the full eclipse will be visible. There, the scientists will have four minutes and eight seconds to study the eclipse.



IN THE SENATE THEY'RE HAVING STAND-UP TROUBLE
—Herblock in Danville (Ill.) Commercial-News

phlets to parents and others who have charge of children. These pamphlets continue to be in great demand. Through them and through the other work of the bureau, many thousands of lives of children have been saved.

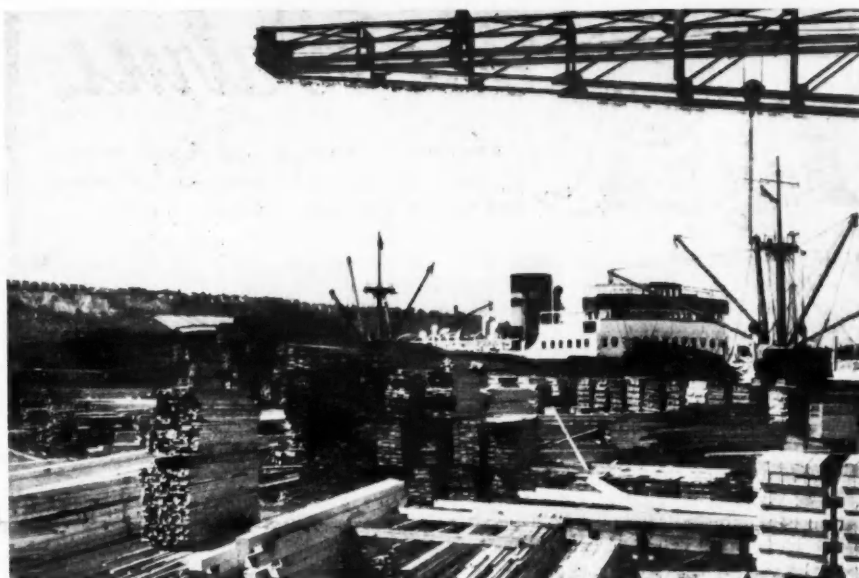
The child labor amendment has received from the start the strong support of the bureau. Recently, the bureau has taken up the problems of crime among young people, with the idea of developing methods to change the conditions which produce juvenile delinquency. The bureau also is interested in the education of blind and crippled children, the care of undernourished children, and cures for diseases which are especially prevalent among children.

Textile Conference

Arguments over differences in prices, conditions of living, rates of pay, and hours of labor, in Japan and other Oriental countries and in the western countries, became distinctly heated at times during the sessions of the first week of the International Labor Organization's Textile Conference in Washington. (See last week's AMERICAN OBSERVER.) The British took the lead in urging the desirability of a 40-hour week for all textile workers in all countries, and complained that longer hours and exceptionally low wages in the Japanese textile industry make it impossible for the western textile producers to compete. The Japanese argued that, while wages were lower and hours longer in their country than in most western countries, prices also were lower and general conditions were such that the standard of living of the textile workers in Japan was approximately the same as elsewhere. They also insisted that Japanese prosperity depended on textile exports, and that if these were cut off by high tariff barriers in other countries, Japan would be in a desperate position.



—Courtesy Yerkes Observatory



© Wide World

THE LUMBER TRADE BOOMS IN THE NORTHWEST
With the Pacific maritime strike a thing of the past, Seattle and Tacoma lumber yards are fairly bustling with activity. This is a view of the British motorship "Pacific Exporter," loading at the Western Waterway Docks with lumber for London.

NEW BOOKS

Literary Giants

If anyone has had the rare privilege of intimately observing the literary scene of the last 40 years, he is Ford Madox Ford. As a youngster "with pale golden curls" he was fondled by the Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev. Frequently he heard Swinburne spouting poetry that was inspired by the bottle rather than the muse. When a poem of Thomas Hardy's had been rejected by a reactionary magazine of that day, Ford founded a new journal for the initial purpose of printing it. D. H. Lawrence, then a shy schoolmaster, quaked in his presence. He fought with H. G. Wells, took walks with W. H. Hudson, was as intimate with Henry James as was possible for anyone to be with that writer.

But close acquaintance alone is hardly enough to account for the 11 excellent sketches included in "Portraits from Life" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, \$3), nor even a quite thorough knowledge of the writings of the men whom Ford portrays. Ford goes beyond these, artist in words that he is, to scent the seemingly insignificant details that contribute to an understanding of character or that reveal in a single flash all that is important in a man. His sketch of Henry James, for example, begins by recording a conversation he overheard James carrying on with one of Ford's housekeepers. The subject of the conversation concerned a somewhat trivial domestic affair. Yet with what caution Henry James spoke. In his almost unhuman care for exactness, he hedged his every word with a bodyguard of parentheses. It was Henry James to the hilt.

Sea Story

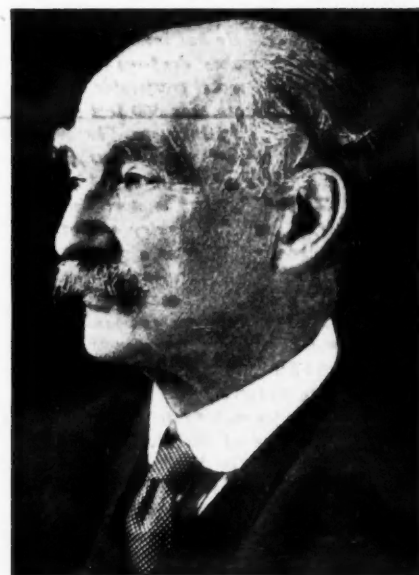
The scene of C. S. Forester's "Beat to Quarters" (Boston: Little Brown, \$2.50) is the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Central America. The time, the early nineteenth century. Britain, at odds with Spain, has dispatched his Britannic majesty's frigate, the *Lydia*, Captain Hornblower, to Spanish America to aid in fomenting a revolution. The rebel with whom Hornblower has to conspire against the provincial Spanish governors is a half-mad chieftain, a merciless ruffian, whose cruelty feeds upon the delusion that he is no mere human being but a god. A 21-gun salute may do very well for King George, but it would be a slight to El Supremo. No thunder less than that of 23 guns can convey his importance.

Such arrogance would have exasperated most British seamen, but not Hornblower. He knew how to deal with men. For seven months, the *Lydia* had steered a course out of sight of land. The sailors had no idea of the mission with which they had been entrusted. They suffered from a scarcity of water, from worm-ridden bread, and worst of all, to a sea-

man, from greatly shortened rations of rum. Having sketched this background with straightforward skill, the author begins his tale and carries it along with unflagging interest. If the story does not keep old men from their pipes and youngsters from their play, then human nature has changed indeed; for not since "Mutiny on the Bounty" have the sea and the men who go down to it in ships been portrayed so excellently.

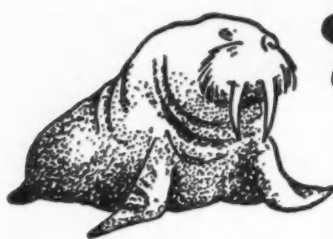
Strange Insects

The age of adventure gone? No new worlds to explore? But you are mistaken if you think so. All about us, involved in a drama without pause, is a vast universe of insects. Scientists have described some 300,000 species of insects, but they have approached only the fringes of this universe; millions more await the patience of the adventurer. But, you may ask, what possible fascination can these tiny creatures, whom in your walks you frequently disdain, have for you? No doubt of the answer will remain once you have read A. Hyatt Verrill's "Strange Insects and Their Stories" (Boston: L. C. Page, \$2.50). Mr. Verrill really tells only of the better known insects, but they are enough to make you want to learn more. Hardly a human activity but it is duplicated, made more intense, in the insect world. It has its builders, its miners, its hospitals, its submarine makers. It has its cheats and its hypocrites. Take, for example, the mantis. He is always posing in an attitude of prayer when he is actually preparing to prey. The laws that regulate the insects are in some instances astounding. There is the periodical cicada, which, as a grub, sleeps underground for 17 years and then comes to the surface on May 25. Always on May 25. It has been doing so, at least, as far back as the early American colonists. And it comes out on that same day whether it has been sleeping in Maine or in Virginia.



THOMAS HARDY

(From an illustration in "Portraits from Life," by Ford Madox Ford.)



The Walrus

"The time has come, the walrus said, to talk of many things: of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

I HAD a very interesting talk at lunch a few days ago with a member of the Japanese delegation to the International Textile Conference, which was being held in Washington. This Japanese official discussed the problems of Japan and also the problems of Japanese-American policies in a very friendly, frank, and straightforward way. Particularly interesting to me was his explanation of the way the Japanese think of Americans. He was speaking not so much of informed Japanese opinion as of the ideas which prevail among the common run of people. Here is his picture of Americans as they appear to the school children of Japan:



"Millions and millions of people, big husky fellows, who live in a very large country, the richest in the world. They produce half of the world's wealth. They are great fighters. Once they lived in a strip of territory along the Atlantic Coast, but they moved westward and conquered a whole continent. Then they started across the Pacific, took Hawaii, the Philippines, and other islands. They plan to conquer Asia. They object when Japan takes a little territory in near-by regions. They intend to destroy Japan. They are building powerful battleships, larger than the Japanese can afford to build. They are also building big airplane carriers, so that their great bombing planes can fly over the Japanese cities and destroy them. The Americans are rich, aggressive, dangerous people, and Japan must be on guard against them if she is not to be destroyed."

We Americans, of course, would not recognize ourselves by that description. Is it possible that the Japanese would be equally surprised if they learned of the things some Americans are saying about them?

ANOTHER interesting luncheon hour last week was spent at the National Press Club in Washington when Captain John Craig, who is engaged in the work of salvaging the wreck of the *Lusitania*, was the guest speaker. He has invented diving apparatus which makes deep-sea explorations of this kind more practicable. The *Lusitania* is lying more than 300 feet under the water, near the Irish coast. The main purpose of the salvaging operations is to bring to the surface a treasure of gold estimated at \$7,000,000, which is stored in the *Lusitania*, together with jewelry and other valuables locked in the purser's safe.

Captain Craig is by profession a photographer, and has filmed many adventure travel pictures for Hollywood companies. He told of a number of adventures, in which he and his crew participated while making pictures to be used as backgrounds for moving-picture productions. One of his stories related to an exploit in Alaska. He and his crew had been sent to that territory to obtain a background for a certain film. Their instructions were that they should photograph polar bears. They discovered, however, that there were no polar bears in that part of Alaska,

that they would have to go 1,500 miles north or east to find the bears, so they wired Hollywood for instructions. The Hollywood officials, hesitating to spend so much money in pursuit of the bears in their native haunts, visited some of the local zoos, rented seven polar bears, and shipped them to Alaska to be photographed against the Alaska background. These bears had never been out of California, and when subjected to the rigorous Alaska climate two of them died of pneumonia.

I VISITED a Detroit high school one day last week; a school located in a part of the city where most of the people are of foreign birth. In nationality they are preponderantly Polish, though other European stocks are represented, and in addition, there is quite a sprinkling of Negroes. Most of these people are poor. They have not had time to adjust themselves to American ways of life. They are not crowded into dark, dingy tenements. Most of them live in one- or two-family houses, but the housing is woefully inadequate.

But when the boys and girls of this region walk into the high school building, it is as if they had stepped through the gates of opportunity, for there is beauty and order there. There are intelligent, friendly teachers, who are more than teachers; who are guides to these young people, leading them not only into a wide range of reading, but also helping them to gain practice in associating together, in learning the rules of social usage, in acquiring taste in dress, in working out forms of entertainment. This school is very truly a melting pot, into which a welter of nationalities and races enters, and out of which come American citizens, able to take a place in the industrial and social life wherever they may go; indistinguishable from those of old stock.

The fathers of many, probably most, of these students were employed by the Chrysler Company. Many had engaged in the sit-down strike. The students were greatly interested in labor problems, naturally, but appeared disposed to study all points of view calmly and reasonably. Their Americanism was, in this respect, of a far higher quality than is that of many Americans of greater wealth and opportunity.

I wonder if most of us realize the extent to which the schools of this nation are the preservers of opportunity and democracy? We understand it, of course, in a way, but we tend to take the schools for granted, just as we do the air we breathe. My visit to this Detroit school, where such fine work is being done for the students, made me appreciative of our schools and teachers.

FROM Detroit I went to Chicago where I attended an educational conference which seemed to me far more satisfactory than the ordinary large conventions. This conference was made up of but about two dozen persons, most of them professors of education from large universities, or school executives. In sessions which extended for three days, we sat and exchanged views on problems of educational policy. This group meets every spring in Chicago and calls itself, "The Spring Conference."

—The Walrus.



AS SOME JAPANESE SEE THE UNITED STATES



© Harris & Ewing

THEY CONTROLLED AMERICAN INDUSTRY DURING THE WAR
The War Industries Board which dominated the nation's economic structure in wartime. Bernard M. Baruch (chairman) is seated third from left.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The President's Wartime Powers

IT IS often said that President Roosevelt wields greater power than any other American president; and it is true that no president has in time of peace exerted such great authority. However, if we turn to the administrations of our two great war Presidents, Lincoln and Wilson, we find that the power vested in the hands of the Chief Executive far exceeded that which Mr. Roosevelt exerts. In the case of Lincoln, much of the authority was assumed without specific congressional grant; in the case of Wilson, Congress in nearly every instance granted the President definite power over various phases of the national life. Lincoln himself recognized that many of his acts were unconstitutional, for he wrote to a friend in 1864 as follows: "I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation."

Thus in turning to the record of the Civil War, we find that President Lincoln did the following things without specific authority from Congress: (1) He increased the size of the military and naval forces of the nation. (2) He built a number of new war vessels. (3) He used treasury funds for war purposes. (4) He suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in states that were not within the theater of the war. (5) He issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

Wilson's Powers

Within a few weeks after our entry into the World War, the arm of government was extended into practically every branch of economic activity. All the resources of the nation were mobilized for the successful prosecution of the war. Controls were established over science, finance, publicity, industry, labor, shipping, transportation, communication, food, and fuel. All were mobilized under the presidential authority, a specific agency being created in each instance to handle the work of administration.

Dozens of new government agencies were created to place the nation on a wartime footing. Under the War Finance Corporation and the Capital Issues Committee, all the financial resources of the nation were mobilized. The principal function of the former was to supply capital to banks so that they might lend funds necessary for the essential war industries, whereas the latter was charged with helping local governments keep their expenses down to a minimum so that all available financial resources would be at the disposal of the federal government. The War Finance Corporation served as a model for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which was established late in the Hoover administration to assist ailing banks, railroads, and insurance companies.

Control over industry was exerted through the War Industries Board which served not only as a planning agency to determine the production needs of the nation, but actually to dictate how much each industry should produce and to distribute orders to concerns best fitted to turn them out. Its function was to coordinate industry in such a way as to prevent waste and duplication and delay.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Many features of the War Industries Board were borrowed when the NRA was drafted to meet the emergency of the depression.

Drastic Central Controls

Early in 1918 all the railroads of the nation were taken over and operated by the government and in the summer of that year the express, telephone, and telegraph companies were taken over by the government. All shipping facilities were placed at the disposal of the government, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation was created for the purpose of immediately meeting the great demand for ships to transport men and goods overseas. Under the Food and Fuel Control Law, the government was able to fix prices of basic food and fuel supplies, and the President was even authorized to take over and operate factories, mines, packing houses, and other plants. The severest penalties were provided for those who failed to comply with the provisions of the law.

Labor relations were strictly regulated by the War Labor Board, the War Labor Policies Board, and the United States Employment Service, under which wages and working conditions were regulated, relations between employers and employees determined, and labor distributed most effectively to meet the needs of the war. The scientific resources were mobilized under the National Research Council, which brought the leading scientific brains of the nation into the service of the government for war needs. The Committee on Publicity and Censorship saw to it that popular feeling was constantly whipped up and that damaging information was withheld from the public.

Practically no branch of economic activity escaped the regulating arm of government during the war period. The President wielded practically dictatorial powers. It has generally come to be recognized that the wartime powers of the President differ from the peacetime powers, and few people have criticized the extension of presidential authority in order to win a war.

Personalities in the News

Nicholas Murray Butler

The living American educator who unquestionably is most widely known throughout the world celebrated his 75th birthday on April 2, on which occasion he remarked that he had far too much to do to think of retiring. This is Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University for the past 35 years, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace since 1925, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, member of scores of learned societies in this and other countries, prominent in Republican party affairs since he was a delegate to the national convention in 1888, and vigorous spokesman for what



he calls "sound liberalism." However, some people call him a conservative because he has opposed the child labor amendment to the Constitution and stands, on the whole, for what President Hoover called "rugged individualism."

Under Dr. Butler's administration, Columbia University has developed into the largest and best-endowed university in the country. It is one of the largest in the world, with attendance running over 30,000. From the beginning of his presidency in 1902, Dr. Butler has insisted that a university should be more than a center of scholarship; it should help to solve the problems of the community of which it is a part. In that spirit, both he himself and many members of Columbia's faculty have taken active parts in city, state, national, and world affairs. Many of the original "Brain Trusters" were Columbia professors. Dr. Butler's own public work has been es-

pecially in the direction of promoting peace. He considers this, and his writing and frequent speech-making, an essential part of his work as an educator.

Paul Van Zeeland

If he had so chosen, Paul Van Zeeland today well might be the unquestioned dictator of Belgium instead of the bulwark of democratic institutions there and the man whom the British and French governments have asked to explore the possibilities of an international economic and trade conference. If he did not take his democratic beliefs seriously, he probably would not have gone into the strenuous special election for a seat in parliament which he has just won in Brussels against the leader of the fascist Rexist party. Having won what was a triumph both for him personally and for democracy, he now becomes a member of the Belgian parliament for the first time, although he has been premier for two years, with only a short break.

The one thing Premier Van Zeeland did not want to do, from his student days onward, was to get into politics. He was in the World War and, physically wrecked, was sent from a German prison camp to Switzerland to die. But he recovered, came to the United States for study at Princeton University, joined the staff of the National Bank of Belgium, and rose to be vice-governor of the bank. He also taught economics at Louvain University.

Then, in the early spring of 1935, things went to pieces in Belgium. The depression was at its worst. Hitler had just sent his



troops into the Rhineland. The cabinet resigned and no regular politician could be found to form a new one. Young King Leopold turned to his close personal friend, Paul Van Zeeland, and asked him to become premier. He accepted, made a stirring speech to parliament, and was voted practically dictatorial power. A little earlier he had studied New Deal methods in the United States. During his first year in office he applied similar methods and placed Belgium well on the road to recovery. With one brief interruption he has held that position ever since.



Robert H. Jackson

A leading New Dealer who likes to keep out of the headlines is Robert Houghwout Jackson. But he found himself prominently before the nation in 1935, when, as general counsel for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, he conducted the government's case in the trial to collect \$3,000,000 of back income taxes from former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon. Then he went to the help of the Social Security Board in straightening out its legal and tax difficulties. Last year he was appointed assistant attorney general. In March of this year, testifying at the Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings on the President's court proposals, he made what many consider the clearest and most convincing of all the arguments which were presented in favor of the plan. Now, at 45, he frequently is mentioned as one of the men whom President Roosevelt may appoint to the Supreme Court if the plan goes through.

Mr. Jackson is fond of calling himself "just a country lawyer"—and there is this much justification for his doing so: he has refused very tempting offers to go to New York City because he likes to live up in the Chautauqua Lake region of New York state where he has had his home for many years. He came to Washington at the request of his boyhood friend, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. He stays here because he believes he can render a real service.

Edward Smigly-Rydz

The tall, slender, bald, thin-lipped unofficial master of Poland, Edward Smigly-Rydz (until recently called Rydz-Smigly), like Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, comes from the common people. He was born 51 years ago in a part of Poland where the national feeling was especially strong. As a youth studying painting in Cracow, he met the man who came to the Poles' heroic embodiment of their determination to be united and free: Josef Pilsudski. When the World War began, he was one of the first handful of young men to join the Polish army that Pilsudski formed, and he stood close by Pilsudski's side all through the following years. When Pilsudski died in 1935 he said he wanted Smigly-Rydz to succeed him as "the foremost defender of the country." Then, as now, Smigly-Rydz had no official position except that of head of the army. But he has become, like Pilsudski, though not yet to quite the same degree, the focus of popular hero worship, and his orders are the ones that are obeyed.



THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

Charles: I guess the chances of getting the child labor amendment to the Constitution ratified this year are mighty slim. The defeat of the amendment by the New York Assembly dealt a terrific blow to the cause, and many of the states which otherwise might have acted favorably will now refuse to ratify. It seems a shame, too, when success was so near, for only eight additional states were necessary to make the amendment effective.

John: It is just as well. I don't think there is any need for such an amendment. Why, since the beginning of the depression, child labor has been practically abolished.

Mary: Oh, is that so? Can it be that you have ignored all the evidence showing that child labor is definitely on the increase, and that it has been since the abolition of the NRA? The National Child Labor Committee has issued some impressive figures to that effect, and only recently the Department of Labor made a striking survey. It examined 2,000 cases in six states and found that some children are working as much as 70 hours a week, while only 46 per cent of the cases studied showed a working week of 40 hours or less. Wages among these children were low, averaging a little over four dollars a week.

Charles: Even if that were not the case, I believe it is high time that definite action were taken to prevent the scourge of child labor from spreading. Only by a constitutional amendment, such as the one which has been before the states since 1924, can we be sure that children's rights will be adequately safeguarded. What makes the present situation the more tragic is the fact that a majority of the people want the amendment ratified. Every poll that has been taken on the question in recent



The child labor amendment. Should the people continue to fight for its ratification? Can the same objectives be accomplished by other means, as in the case of prison-made goods?

months clearly shows this to be the case.

John: I do not agree with you, Charles. I believe that ratification of the child labor amendment would be as grave a mistake as adoption of the prohibition amendment was. Why, have you read the sweeping powers it would confer on Congress? Read the first section: "The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age." It would give the federal government the power to send agents into every home, school, and church in the country, to snoop around and find out what the young people were doing. Congress could make illegal the performance of chores on the farms and of simple household duties. It could order military training for all boys, if it saw fit. In other words, the powers bestowed upon Congress are so great as to permit the government to do almost anything it wanted. It is clearly an invasion of states' rights and brings the federal government into a field of regulation which should be reserved to church and family, as well as the states.

Mary: Don't get so excited, John. According to you, ratification of the amendment would give our government as great power over the lives of young people under 18 as the Nazis have in Germany. Can you cite me a single example where either Congress or the state legislatures have abused powers of this kind bestowed upon them? Congressional regulation has in the past been moderate and wholesome, and it would certainly be the same in this case. Do you seriously believe that Congress would for a moment attempt to tell farmers that their children could do no chores and to tell

parents that their children could do no household duties? After all, my good friend, please remember that Congress is amenable to public opinion and that public opinion would never stand for such a thing. All that Congress would do would be to pass legislation designed to eliminate child labor in the factories and sweatshops of the nation and to eliminate the evils which are known now to exist.

Charles: Precisely. And that is why I contend that citizens everywhere who are interested in seeing these abominable conditions eliminated should wage a determined campaign at the next elections to vote only for those candidates who promise to vote for ratification. Only in that way can they defeat the reactionaries who, though in a minority, have been able to prevent the adoption of this reform.

Mary: It seems to me that the same objective might be accomplished by another method. Only a few months ago, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a law which forbids the transportation of prison-made goods into states having laws prohibiting the sale of prison-made goods. Why could not Congress use the same device in the child-labor case? Why could it not pass a law forbidding the shipment of goods made by child labor into states which have laws prohibiting child labor? It seems to me that such a law would have to be upheld by the Supreme Court, if it uses the same reasoning as it did in the case of prison-made goods.

Charles: The only difficulty with that, Mary, is that we have no assurance that the states would pass laws prohibiting child labor within their own boundaries. Re-

member that both manufacturers and laborers are opposed to the sale of goods made by prisoners because of the unfair competition such products afford. There is no such pressure for the enactment of laws doing away with child labor. Many employers in every state are anxious to employ child labor and thus keep their costs of production down. That is why I repeat that an amendment is necessary.

John: And I repeat that if the amendment is ratified, we will destroy one of the finest characteristics of our society. We will destroy the opportunities for initiative and for the success which come through hard work.

Mary: If we are destroying America as a land of opportunity by making it unlawful for an employer to work a 15-year old child as many as 70 hours a week for the niggardly sum of four dollars, I think it is high time we took that step. That is not my idea of what America should be.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Why is the United States, in your opinion, the most lawless nation in the civilized world?
2. What are some of the more important steps that need to be taken in order to strike at the roots of the crime problem?
3. How does your community compare with other places of its size in the matter of lawlessness?
4. In what countries has the cooperative movement made principal headway?
5. Can you think of any reasons why the cooperative movement will not become widespread in the United States?
6. Great Britain is making a mistake by not opposing the factors which may contribute to a rebel success in Spain. Do you agree with this statement or do you dispute it?
7. What effects do you think the Wagner Labor Act decisions by the Supreme Court will have on President Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the judiciary?

PRONUNCIATIONS: Van Zeeland (van zay'land), Leon (lay-on—o as in go), Degrelle (duh-grell'), Smigly-Rydz (smeg'wee-ridz).

Crime Takes Heavy Toll in America

(Concluded from page 1)

are protected. Sometimes an entire local government maintains itself in power through its alliance with lawless elements. According to Courtney Riley Cooper, who has made studies of crime in towns and cities in all sections of the country, "there are not 20 first-class cities in the United States which could come through a searching inquiry, free of political interference, without at least a dozen persons of so-called prominence in each community being headed for the penitentiary." This may or may not be an exaggeration, but J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the G-Men, also expresses the opinion that corruption in local politics is Public Enemy No. 1.

The Police

Another explanation for our crime record, one closely related to the problem to which we have just been referring, is that many police forces in the United States have low standards. In certain cities these forces are composed of capable and highly trained men, but in most cases policemen receive little or no training. They are inefficient. The result is that they are no match for criminals, even when their intentions are good.

The police officers, moreover, work under handicaps. The police of one city or of one county may not cooperate with the officers in another city or county. Criminals fleeing from justice pay no attention to city or county or state lines. But the officers in pursuit have to stop at the borderlines, because their authority ends when they step out of their jurisdiction. There are a few state police forces which ignore county lines. But most states do not maintain such forces at all. In cases of kidnapping and certain other types of crimes, the federal agents may take action and totally disregard local jurisdictions. Most law enforcement work, however, is done by local agencies, and under the handicaps we have mentioned.

In addition to these defects in our system of law enforcement, it is generally agreed that our courts are decidedly faulty. New trials are frequently granted because some trivial error occurred in the hearing of the case—an error which could not conceivably have affected the outcome of the decision. There are often long delays in trying a case.

Another serious cause of crime is improper prison conditions. Many of our prisons are entirely too overcrowded. First offenders are thrown in with hardened criminals. Many authorities agree with a statement made by William J. Quinn, San Francisco's chief of police. He said: "Penal institutions, at present, are the worst places for fostering crime. Could not some crimes now designated as felonies (serious crimes), such as robbery, be punishable by a large fine, to be paid over a course of years, under public supervision? If the man escaped, it would not be so bad for the state as sending him to prison, because he would be less likely to become a confirmed criminal. Many persons are convicts because they have never learned to work. They could be helped to learn. We might try colonizing prisoners on farming land, letting them acquire wives and families; or organize them under military rule to perform public work, such as reforestation."

Character Building

More and more students of the crime problem are coming around to the view that there is a great need for programs of education and character-building in our prisons. It is becoming increasingly evident that merely to lock up law violators is not enough. Many prisons are introducing programs of education, and are placing much stress on teaching their inmates to become useful citizens in preparation for going out into the world after their time has been served. There has not yet been enough experience with well-worked-out programs of this sort to know just how effective they are, but it is generally agreed among students of the problem that these experiments are steps in the right direction.

Such programs cannot be successful, however, unless prison inmates are segregated and dealt with accord-

ing to the nature of their crimes. Moreover, many authorities believe that the parole system should be extended to all but the most serious crimes, since, as Chief of Police Quinn points out, a man is less likely to become a confirmed criminal the longer he stays out of prison. In some states, the parole system has worked well, because there has been a genuine effort to check up on the activities of people on parole, to see that they don't drift into their old unlawful habits, and to help them readjust themselves to society. In other places, however, they are required only to send the parole board a letter or postcard every so often, stating that they are behaving themselves properly. What is more, politics has played an important role in the administration of the parole system in certain states. Unless voters see to it that parole boards are composed of honest and highly qualified individuals, the parole system is dangerous. Some of the nation's most shocking crimes have been committed by men and women on parole.

Polite Crime

Still another stimulus to crime which should be mentioned is the ability of wealthy people to escape the law on frequent occasions. "There is in our country," says Dorothy Thompson, well-known newspaper columnist, "polite crime, and impolite crime. A banker accused of embezzlement, an In-sull, or a Doheny, can command the ablest and most respectable legal talent in the country. A bank wrecker can get the support of an eminent member of the bar. A bank breaker cannot. . . . A girl who shoots her lover in hysteria is usually defended by a lawyer of questionable reputation because only such a man will defend her. But a man who has ruined widows and orphans may be defended by a leading citizen."

Perhaps this rather peculiar code of morals may be partly explained by the fact that we as a nation have glorified financial success to a much greater extent than most other countries. We have built up a national tradition that everyone has a chance of rising from "rags to riches," and those persons who have done so, regardless of methods, have won the envy of the less fortunate. The attitude that "anything is all right so long as you don't get caught" has prevailed on a wide scale. Such a standard of conduct, though not approved by a great many people, has been common enough to encourage a large amount of business dishonesty, racketeering, and other forms of lawlessness.

Slums and Poverty

Finally, we come to what many experts believe is the greatest cause of crime—poverty. Our city slums are the chief breeding places of crime and criminals. In a pamphlet called "Crime," published by the University of Chicago Press, the connection between poverty and crime is well described:

Slum conditions of themselves might not create grumbling and dissatisfaction if the slum families had no means of knowing how differently other people lived. But only a few blocks away from the miserable tenements, shop windows blaze with their tempting displays of jewelry, furs, and expensive clothes. Only a few blocks away are the homes of the rich, who can afford all the good things of life. All this contrasts sharply with the grim and sweat and filth of the cheap, dingy rooms of the poor and with their strenuous efforts to keep body and soul together.

In the "talkie," the coming of spring is heralded by the chirping of robins perched on the budding branches of a lovely lilac bush. The tenement child comes back to his own garbage-filled court yard to witness the coming of spring. Broken beds are being sprayed with bedbug powder, smelly blankets hang heavily on the line. . . . We shouldn't be surprised at the number of youngsters in the slums who become law-breakers. The marvel is that slums don't produce many more criminals.

REMEDIES



EDUCATION



EMPLOYMENT



HEALTHFUL RECREATION



HONEST GOVERNMENT

"How are we to prevent crime?" this pamphlet asks. Above all else, it believes, we must get rid of slums. In addition, it thinks there should be better control of low-class picture houses, dance halls, and poolrooms (one well-known detective has said that poolrooms are among the outstanding breeding places of crime). It believes that much could be done to improve school courses so as to bring studies closer to the real needs and interests of young people. More playgrounds are needed, it contends, and also clubs for boys and girls. Incidentally, Dutchess County, New York, has been spending large sums for recreation, with the result that there has been a marked falling off in juvenile crime. The county has not spent more money than many other counties; it has simply found that the more it spends on recreation, the less it needs to spend on law enforcement.

Other Remedies

In addition to these suggestions as to what steps should be taken to prevent crime, here are some others, made by various experts in the field: (1) Clean, invigorating work for everyone, to remove the criminal motive bred of desperation. This work normally should be provided by the industrial and economic structure, but work relief is needed in times of industrial unemployment; (2) elimination of sweatshops and child labor; (3) community meetings to discuss the crime problem. These might be attended by the superintendent of schools, chief of police, chief probation officer, superintendent of playgrounds, representatives of boys' and girls' clubs, etc.; (4) intensive educational work in the press, motion pictures, schools, and other instrumentalities to bring about right public attitudes toward crime and its causes; (5) attractive neighborhood playgrounds with amusement halls for dances and entertainments and opportunity for a pleasant social life.

Obligation of Individual

It should be reiterated, however, that little progress can be made in preventing or checking crime until public interest is intelligently aroused. As we have seen, the problem is extremely complex. It must be tackled from a number of different angles. Each community is under a heavy responsibility to improve its government; to provide skilled, highly trained, well-paid police officers; to reform the courts so that trials may be speedy and fair; to provide public playgrounds and amusement centers for young people; to see that its people are decently housed. Each individual is also under obligation to respect the law himself, and this means also traffic regulations. If each person in every community were to respect the law himself and to cooperate with local groups which are attempting to improve the administration of justice, we could in a very short time wipe out a large part of our crime.

People should be made to realize that money spent on crime prevention is good economy. America's annual crime bill, according to recent estimates, amounts to about 15 billion dollars. This cost includes the upkeep of federal, state, and local police agencies, criminal courts, and penal institutions. It also includes the losses due to criminal acts, such as murder, arson, theft, racketeering, fraudulent use of mails, and embezzlement. Added to the financial loss, crime takes 12,000 lives a year. These figures emphasize the size of the problem and the need that it be attacked.

(For information as to what one can do in his own community to cooperate in checking crime, we refer you to the National Crime Commission, located at 220 West 42nd Street, New York City; also to the National Crime Prevention Institute, New York City. The purpose of both these organizations is to study crime and possible means of reducing it, to make practical recommendations which can be used as a basis for legislation in the different states, to cooperate with state and local crime organizations, and in general to work with all those interested in this problem.)

CAUSES



NEGLECTED YOUTH



POVERTY



GREED



CORRUPT POLITICS